

A Letter
THE
Disseverant Jesuite
UNMASK'D.
In Answer to the
TWO PARTS
OF
CASSANDRA.

Wherein the *AUTHOR* and his *LIBELS*
are laid Open.

With the *True Reasons* why he wou'd have
the *DISSENTERS* Humbled.

*Beware of false Prophets, which come to you in Sheeps-
cloathing, Matth. 15. 7.*

With my Service to Mr. Lesley.

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London, Printed in the Year, 1764.

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The Author being out of Town when these Sheets were printed, the Reader is desir'd to pass over those Faults that have escap'd the Press.

C A S-

CASSANDRA

ANSWER'D.

WHEN a Man is big with his own Merit, and has taken up his Reputation (as some Men do their Principles) upon Trust, he easily believes himself in the right, whatever he says; and goes on, as *Lot* went from *Sodom*, without so much as looking behind him. These Self-evident Notions furnish a Man completely with the necessary Qualifications that are required in one of those *Tools to Faction*, call'd, *A Scribling State-Casnist*; one that handles more Laws than he understands, and starts more Queries than he has Arguments to pursue: *A common Poacher upon Crown-Lands*; and makes as bold with the *Royal Inclosure*, as though he were at Liberty upon a *Common*. When he finds any thing to his purpose, neither the *Nobility*, nor even the *Prince*, shall scape him. He gets into his Enthusiastic Flights, and either forgets what he is about; or, ravish'd with the Conceit of his mistaken *Notions*, lets it stand; and out of the least Sense of Modesty (though it may be all he has) draws an equivocating slight Veil over it, thinking to shadow it from the Understanding of the Law; which is too indulgent to Facts of that Nature. His *Books* are but so many Doors to a *Labrynth*, wherein the *Party* enter and are lost. There they wander all their Lives in Ignorance of the very *Cause* they are so assiduous to maintain; yet are oblig'd to encourage and believe, that what he writes infinitely strengthens the *Faction*; and that his

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Arguments are both *sound* and *legal*. In this Case, a Man is sure of all the Applause he can expect: That of his own *Party* is settled on him by a Law among themselves: They are his *Bank*, where he lodges *Principle*, and receives *Interest* for it. And that he mayn't want his own Commendations, he won't fail to trumpet out his Merit in what he writes; tells ye, how he has foyl'd his *Adversary*; made the Matter so plain against him, that all the World may easily perceive it. When an indifferent Person, with as many Eyes as he has, after all their notable Description, can't see this great *Eclipse* of the *Moon* he speaks of; tho' he undertakes to tell ye, 'tis as plain as the *Sun* at *Noon-day*. But, as I was saying, he is sure of all the Applause he can expect; *i. e.* he is secure of his own *Party*; and no Man can reasonably expect the Commendations of his Enemies (though he wou'd be thought both a Better and Wiser Person that would create himself none :) So that not being capable, I say, of receiving any manifest Reproofs from the World, he may *Libel* on with assurance. When the Bounds of Modesty won't restrain him, nor no Fences are sufficient to keep him from breaking in upon the Government, and twisting himself, *like a Snake in the Grass*, into the Intricacies of State-Affairs; pretending to give Rules to the *Supreme* and Legislative Powers: Such a one! is the very Nufance to a Commonwealth: His Pen is like a *Scavenger's Broom*, that rakes all the *Filth* and *Dirt* together, till he throws his *Scandal* into the *Press* by whole Shovels full.

Though this *Picture*, as I have drawn it, may serve for the Universal Delineaments of a Seditious Turbulent Pamphleteer, yet I will endeavour to single out one from the *Herd*, that shall fit the *Frame* according to the Dimensions I have given it. Let any one look into the two Parts of *Cassandra*, and they will see that *Tantivy Author*

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whip and spur to *Persecution*. He is the very Picture of
St. Paul before his *Conversion*. He's on the Road to *Dama-
 mascus* with all the Fury of his Party about him, and
 threatens terrible things, unless the Lord be so good (for
 the sake of the Nation) to stop his Career; of which I
 cannot find a better Proof than his own Words, pag. 1.
*There is a Sett of Men among us, who are visibly driving on
 (whether themselves know it or not) the Ruin of these Na-
 tions.* I claim but the Benefit of a Period here, to throw
 this undeniably upon him and his Party, and which
 would give me very little trouble to prove; viz. Their
 hearty Well-wishes to a certain *Young Gentleman*. I will
 forbear to name, and their Emergency shewn in the De-
 fence of the *Act of Settlement*, together with their pious
 and stedfast Resolution to continue it as occasion shall
 serve. 'Tis well known this Gentleman has openly a-
 vow'd himself one of the *Champions* of that *Faction*; at
 least I will undertake to proclaim him so, because I be-
 lieve him a Man of such fix'd and radicated *Principles*,
 that he will stand to any thing I promise in his Name on
 such an account. He is hinting the downfall of *Monar-
 chy*, and the abolition of *Episcopacy*, if the *Whigs* and
Dissenters have not some Check put to their Actions:
 He tells ye *what will come of it*. I suppose he means, as
Cassandra foretold the Destruction of *Troy*; and if his
Country does not listen to his Prophetic Admonitions,
 and chain the Mannacle, the *Whiggish Greeks*, we shall
 have the Nation on fire about our Ears: *But I hope not*.
 He concludes his first part, by telling them what they must
 trust too (tho' not, I hope, what will come of it) where
 he says, *That the People have been hitherto even bewitch'd
 (a second time) with the pretences of Liberty and Proper-
 ty: Yet their Eyes will be open'd by the Force of Truth, and
 you sent to the place from whence you came; and the Nation
 rescu'd from the Fatality you have brought upon them, of*
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being a Kingdom divided against it self, and which cannot stand, unless your Leaven be purged out of it. Here he shews an excellent Temper of Mind, and speaks emphatically the Sense of the whole Party. I suppose, that by being sent to the *place* from whence they came (put in a different Letter too, to express it the more vehemently) he means to the Gallows; it being a *Phrase* never used but before Sentence of Death pronounc'd on a Criminal, or to a Vagrant stragled from the place of his Nativity. Now which of these two it is most reasonable to believe he means, I leave to the World. If he wou'd come off and say, he meant it as applicable to the latter, I cou'd accuse him of pure Nonsense, and procure him a *Pass* into Scotland, by vertue of the use I wou'd make of it: so that he plainly says, the Gallows is the best and *Shortest Way with Dissenters*.

VVou'd this Gentleman argue calmly, and not believe himself so much in the right; but rather be persuaded that he has said no more than what has been said before, and yet room left to put in an answer, I wou'd say something to him. But he imagines the work was never done till he came, and that now he has fully clench'd the Matter: That 'tis now done, and the *Parliament* must be blind if they don't see what is so demonstrative, and put some immediate *Act* in force against the *Dissenters*, that may (as he hints before) send 'em to the *place* from whence they, *i. e.* the Gallows: or at least tie up their Hands, that they may not be left capable of doing any harm. For he seems mortified that they have the *Connivance* of the Government to write on without controul. Connivance is here wedg'd in with a mighty Blow, as though it were a fault in some of the *Members* to suffer what, as yet, there is no Law to restrain; and when there is, (if ever) cannot, nor ought not be limited to *Parties*. All Laws are founded upon Equity; and all *Acts* of Parliament are intended

tended for a General Good ; in which the *People* are necessarily included : And by the *People*, we mean all the *People*, as well *Dissenters* as others : So that we may presume still to hope, that they will have Liberty to answer whatever is objected against them by the furious *Church-Party* ; and that one will not be silenc'd without the other ; which might, as soon as any thing, turn to a *General Good*, except that some particular *People* wou'd want the *Daily Subsistence* they draw from the *Press*.

I wonder how Men of Free-born Minds shou'd come to be so in love with *Fetters*, as to stretch out their Necks to Slavery, and voluntarily put on the servile Yoak. This is the first *Position* laid down by our *Author* ; where he inveighs against the Native *Right* of the *People*, and tramples down *Liberty* and *Property*, with his *Passive Obedience Arguments*. If ye find a Page without *Jure Divino*, ye may apply it to a necessary use before it comes to *Waste-paper* : He can't reason without it : 'Tis the very Soul and Life of Argument, the very *Trumpet-marine* of his Discourse, the peculiar String he is always touching, and on which he fancies himself he makes admirable Musick ; when 'tis always the same thing over and over again. He has *Sophistry* enough to daub a good Face upon a bad Matter ; but before he breaks it off, the Frenzy seizes him ; and I will no more undertake to say he can't rail well, than to say the *blind Boy* upon *Tower-Hill* does not play well upon the *Pipe*, when he's always at it. VWhere was *Jure Divino* when contending Houses have split the *Dignity*, and disputed for the *Crown*, at the expence of the Blood of the *People*, when all Order and Rule has been set aside, and Desolation has spread it self through the *Land* ? It was not then the *Rebellion* of the *People* against the *Supreme Power*, but two (or sometimes more) *Supreme Powers* set up against each other : 'Tis possible the *People* have separately espous'd the Mat-

ter on either side. And this is *Rebellion* on one side, you will say : Nay, it may be almost prov'd to be so on both sides ; because Success has ever made it warrantable ; and it has been often known that Fortune has chang'd Hands. Then *Jure Divino* has been the Right of Power. The *Crown* takes off all Defects, they say ; and where the *Sword* makes way to the *Throne*, the *People*, out of a kind of simple *Loyalty*, must kiss the bright *Instrument* of their Slavery. Nay, and what is worse, this Slavery must become Hereditary too ; for the next Age excludes the Memory of *Conquest*, wash'd off by specious Pretences of an apparent *Right*, which we must confess to see as clear as the *Sun* in the *Meridian* : When nothing is more visible, than that the *People* are impos'd on, and lye open to all *Innovations*, let 'em flow from what *part* they will, where this Hereditary *Right* has spread its numerous *Branches*. How many *Civil Wars* has *England* endur'd upon this Foot ? Many and bloody ones ; and 'tis very hard that the *People* must see, and share the Calamities of their *Country* : Nay, must content themselves with the Subversion of Religion, if the *Case* requires it, without being allow'd the least pretence to free themselves from Oppression. Nay, our *Author* affirms, that there can be no Redress thought on ; *no such Scheme invented by any Heads, how wise soever* : And farther tells ye, that the *new Association* has fully prov'd there can be no such *Scheme* thought on ; which for my part I cannot find either in that *Book*, or his *Cassandra*, to be so fully answer'd as he expresses : But on the contrary, they have convinc'd me more to believe, that such a *Scheme* for the Peoples *Security* and *Protection* ought the more, and might be found out and improved to a great degree. Nay, that such Schemes have been put in practice elsewhere, and happily answer'd the Ends of their Institution : For there needs but Imbecility in One to ruin All. Whereas in a free State, many

ny must be weak and perfidious to create their Misfortunes: And none being absolute, 'tis Reason, and not Power, that forms the Result of their Actions. He says, pag. 9. *That no Scheme can be made upon the Foot of the People, that is not altogether Precarious, Nonsense, and Contradiction, that can give any Basis or Settlement to Government, or oblige any to submit for Conscience sake. Nay further, that does not destroy their beloved and Foundation Principle of Original Freedom and Independance of the People; since all these Schemes end in a Force upon those who will not comply with their Constitution.* Now I think this was answer'd in the foregoing Paragraph, pag. 8. quoted from the Occasional Letter, pag. 20. *That, if they please, they may separate and remove where they think to be better govern'd.* But again, he objects against him, and says, *That instead of its being an Answer to what is advanc'd in the New Association, that That is a direct Answer to This:* So, with abundance of assurance, I may tell him, this is a direct Answer to his, which follows, and much the better of the two. But to proceed. VVe will skip over what he calls a *Traiterous and long-since exploded Notion, That the King is one of the Three Estates of Parliament*; which he tells you in the following Paragraph, pag. 11. *N. 1. has been fully and judiciously answer'd by the Heraclitus, No. 10, 12, 13.* But forgetting the Favour, in the very next Paragraph he calls him (*Heraclitus*) a *senseless Scribler*. Now how this *senseless Scribler* came to answer that Great Point so judiciously. I must refer him to the *Scandalous Club*, whether he deserves to be recorded for it or no. I only took this by the way, to shew you, that these positive self-evident People may sometimes be mistaken. And since he has put me in the Head of *Original Freedom and Independance of the People*, I will give him my Opinion.

That

That there is a Necessity of a Power to which all final Appeals ought to be made, cannot be a greater Truth, than that such a Power is best plac'd in the Representatives of the People; since whatever can be said for the having in the King, can be said for the having it in those Representatives. Nay more; for beside the high Obligation of Trust, which is in common to both; and indeed the Chief, if not the Only, upon Kings (at least if we credit that They are not accountable for Actions;) That Authority is likelier to be careful in making and maintaining of Laws, to which they and their Posterities must submit, than that Authority which is so far from receiving any Prejudice by ill Laws, that they receive the greater advantage by it: For the less the People have, the more the King has. Neither can the Law be more the Monarch's Guard than 'tis the Peoples. For as the King owes all he has to the being above the Law, so the People owe all they have to their being under it: And both deriving both their Alls from that Principle, 'tis likely the Concern for maintaining it will be equal. The Safety of the People is the Supreme Law; and those the best Judges of that Safety, who are by the People entrusted with it. Here it were upon a good Foot: For 'tis easie to apprehend that the People will not repine at the executing those Laws to which they have assented, or which they themselves have Constituted. Besides, it makes the Governour distribute the Laws without Partiality, when he is limited by the People. No, he says, they are not limited by the People, but by a Party that call themselves the People. VVhy, by a Part of the People is always meant the whole: The Greater Part includes the Less, and the Less the Greater: Here is no occasion for Equivocation; when we say, the People, we mean, the Commons of England, Represented in Parliament. Who do they Represent? why the People of England. Now, wou'd

would not every Man in his proper Senses believe it meant the whole Body of the People of England, and not a Part? But how are they represented, says he, when much the major part have no Vote in the Election? How can it be, when according to the Scheme of Power in the People, the consent of every Individual is necessary? As necessary as it is, it may be supply'd by a Part, and yet the Whole be included, and a Reason given for it, as well as that two, four, six, or eight Men shall represent that Part. But 'tis probable the People, that is, the Whole, are satisfied with the Choice made (excepting as to particular Parties in Elections) or else they have an undoubted Right to complain of their Electors; and 'tis very hard if they shou'd not be both heard and redress'd. But Custom has made it easie: And though Original Freedom seems asleep, it may be reviv'd again, when an absolute necessity of Tyranny and unjust Oppression shall call for a Redress of Grievances. He carries *Jure Divino* so high, that he says, pag. 8. *If those in Possession came wrongfully by it, they will answer it to God: But still it is theirs of Right, where none claim a better Right to it than they have.* Why, who knows not that? There needs no Ghost from the Dead to inform us in that matter. But we will suppose there is a Right preferable to this (or else there wou'd be no occasion to dispute it) wou'd his *Jure Divino* and Passive Doctrine extend to worshipping the Idol? What, are the Waters of Jordan as healing as those of Bethsaida? Then, indeed, we need not care what Distempers we languish under. But I fancy this Author forgot himself in this point, and verifies the old Proverb, *That greatest Wits have shortest Memories.*

I don't believe it concerns the People of England (or is any thing material to the Question in hand) to give an account how, and when Political Government began in

the World? Whether it was done this way or that, is no satisfactory Answer to, *Where was Original Freedom lost? and for what was that forfeited?* God has said, *I will have my People a free People. I will bring them out of the Land of Egypt, out of the House of Bondage: They shall have no other Gods but me.* Now when they are afflicted with wicked Rulers (for such it was, he says, that God in the Division of Nations set over every People) and oppress'd with Tyranny and Persecution, and forc'd against their Consciences to worship strange Gods: VVhere is then the Freedom he promis'd his People? In the first place, Religion is a matter of Choice; and he that does not choose, has none: For every Man ought to worship God according to the Dictates of his own Conscience, and not by other Mens Compulsions: Such is no Religion; if no Religion, 'twill be immaterial to Salvation. Here's a fine Argument for Non Resistance and Passive Obedience, That the People must be damn'd as often as their Governours please; and not only have their Secular Inheritance plunder'd, but be forc'd from their Possessions in the Lord Jesus. And in this Case, he says, p. 28. *The best Security we can have against our Governours, is by a Dutiful Submission to encourage them to be good to us.*

I wonder he does not undertake to tell us, that we are born in Fetters, and that Slavery is entail'd on us like Original Sin: Sure there might be some Text found for that too, since, I find, 'tis no hard matter with him to prove any thing.

But we might answer, and name the time, when Political Government began in the World; and how, and by what Methods the World was divided into several Nations. He says, *It was done by the Division of Languages:* For which he quotes the *New Association*; where, he says, *There is an attempt made to shew every one of the Particulars.* Now I might attempt to shew him, That the Design of Political

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litical Government was laid before the *Confusion of Tongues*. God commanded *Noah's three Sons*, when they descended from the *Mountains*, to divide themselves into *Colonies*, and dispose themselves into other *Regions*, giving neither the Superiority. After which, *Nimrod* (who we account the first *Monarch*) being a prudent and ambitious Man, laying hold of the Stupidity and Perverseness of the *People*, projected to himself this *Scheme of Sovereignty*; telling them, That if they would put themselves under his *Obedience*, he would protect them against the Power of *God*, who by dividing them into *Colonies*, only design'd to destroy them. They, willing rather to trust one they could converse with, than that *God* who had so lately destroy'd the *World*, submit to his *Proposal*. And the more to strengthen their good Opinion of him, he proposes building of a Tower that should reach to the *Heavens*; which shou'd secure 'em, if *God* should again attempt their Destruction by *Water*. But *God* seeing their Folly and Madness (after they had rais'd it to an incredible height) put an end to it by the *Division* of *Languages*.

So that if it were any thing material, we shew him there was a *Scheme of Government* before the *Division of Languages*, and might, in all probability, have continu'd, though such *Division* had never happen'd.

And no doubt but some of the craftiest of the *People* retain'd this Notion, as affecting *Sovereignty*; and when they were divided after their Languages into their several *Countries*, some, according to *Nimrod's* Policy, put themselves unjustly to *Rule* over the *People*.

This was about a hundred Years after the *Flood*: Before which time (says this Author) we may well suppose that

Noah had the *Supreme Government*. We may suppose it, if we please ; but we read no where of *King Noah*, or *Jure Divino* : And we may as well suppose that *Noah* had no more than the distinct *Rule* of his own *Family*, since *Nimrod*, who was *Great Grand-son* to *Noah*, was the first that inveigled the *People* into *Subjection* ; who, but just before, were commanded by *God* to spread themselves into *Colonies* : But they, ignorant of the Good design'd them in't, refus'd to obey him. And 'twas this Perverseness that *Nimrod* laid hold of to subject them, when they had deny'd themselves to be a *Free People* : And the *Power* he promis'd to protect them against was, he told them, the *Power* of *God* ; who by dividing them into *Colonies*, only design'd to destroy them. This was his *Doctrine* to subjugate his *Brethren* : So that, 'tis more than probable, there was no *Earthly Power* in being, else he would not have made that blasphemous Pretence to entice them under his *Government*. No doubt but *Nimrod* left this unjust *Scheme* of *Sovereignty* to his *Posterity* ; who by some such Pretence made themselves *Rulers* and *Governours* over the *People* afterwards.

But to come in the next place to sift into his *Arbitrary* Notions of *Government* ; how far the *People* have the *Right* on their side to free themselves from *Tyranny* and *Persecution* ; allowing, as the *Oceasional Letter* mentions, *That Governments were from the beginning Instituted by God, &c.* Have not the *People* the same *Divine Right* to their *Rulers Protection* ? And did not this *Right* in the *People* issue from the same *Spring* with the other ? And that which tyes the *People* to a firm *Obedience*, does not the *Divine Law* also bind the *Prince* or *Ruler* to a due *Execution* of those *Laws* he is entrusted with ? Which if he does not follow, but sets himself against the *People* to *Persecute* and *Oppress* them, is he not perjur'd, and ought he not to become the *Scorn* of his *Subjects* ? Nay, does not our Au-
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thor modestly own this himself; *That if their Rulers do invade the Peoples Rights, they make themselves obnoxious to the Divine Law, and to the Judgment of God for so doing?* Very well then, I am glad to hear *Kings* may err: I thought he would have said, they had acted by *Divine Inspiration*; and that if the *People* thought themselves oppress'd, it had been the Depravity of their Appetites, that could not relish the unlimited Power of their *Rulers*: And that tho' His *Yoke* seem'd heavy, they must bear it; who being *God's Vicegerent*, was accountable to none but him. But since he allows that they may not only err, but may make themselves obnoxious to God and Mankind, has not God said he will punish such? *I will bind their Kings in Chains, &c.* Here the Word *Obnoxious* admits of a great *Latitude*; odious to *God*, or hated by *God*. And can such deserve to Rule over his *People*? And if He (the King) incurr'd the *Divine Vengeance*, by whom could *God* inflict his Punishment by better than by the Hands of the *People* whom he had so oppress'd, as well as he pleas'd to punish a wicked *People* by the Hands of a severe *Prince*? And yet 'tis all this while leaving it to *God*; who undoubtedly stirs up the Minds of the *People* to execute his Will. There needs no Precedent, the *Bible* is full of Examples of this kind; and so is all other *History*, especially that of *England*: That when *Kings* have neglected their Duty to *God* and the *People*, they have been divested of the *Regal Dignity*: And, no doubt, if they were become *obnoxious and odious to God*, he stript them also of their *Divine Right* at the same time. But by laying this *Principle* so hard to the charge of the *Dissenters*, wou'd he inferr, that none but *They* have been guilty of deposing *Kings*? Yes, in all *Religions*, in all *Nations*, it has been the same: Nay, even it has been practis'd where *Religion* has not been the *Pre- tence*, and has had no other Reason, than an Encroachment

ment of the Prerogative upon the *Liberties* of the People : and if they will not bear this from a Prince of the same *Religion*, how much more Reason have those People to assert their *Liberty*, where their *Religion*, as well as their *Secular Inheritance*, lies at stake ? Or does this Author believe we cou'd not produce many Instances of this kind before the *Reformed Church* was *Establish'd* ? Yes, several : And for his Proof in *General*, it is no positive Charge upon the *Dissenters*.

I will undertake to answer as far as the History of my own Time, That the *Dissenters* have gone Hand in Hand with the *Church*, (that is, the most *Reasonable* and *Moderate* part of the *Church*.) And I can't tell what particular Advantages they reap'd (since the Preservation of their *Religion* was common to both) that any deserving Men were deny'd : And what more Favour they receiv'd (if any) was upon the account of the chearful and ready Assistance they gave, as far as the necessity of the Cause required. How far our *Religion* and *Liberties* were then in danger, needs no proof at all, when they began to Huff and Bully us into *Compliance* : And that we might be assur'd it was levell'd at our *Ecclesiastical Foundation*, they began with the *Pulpit*, to make it an *Instrument* to carry on their *Proceedings* ; and so far they resolv'd not to be disobey'd, that the very *Petition* to be excus'd from so inconsistent a *Duty*, was thought a just Cause of *Imprisonment* and *Arraignment*.

And sure *Liberty* was never asserted upon a more pressing necessity than at this juncture ; here was all the hopes in the World of being an enslav'd People ; and if we had not struck in time, and clos'd with an opportunity that then presented, we had been to blame ; 'twas but staking *All* to *All*, and we had one *Fair Game* to play for it : If we had fail'd in the undertaking, we had been neither better nor worse, than if we had ne're undertaken it.

But

But we carried the *Cause*, and in such a manner, that we have reason to boast, *The Lord was our Deliverer*. And here, while he is vindicating the Privilege of the *Clergy*, and proving the *Bishops* to be the first and greatest of the three *Estates*, he seems to approve the Management of *King James* toward a part of that Reverend *Assembly*; but it prov'd a work too hot for his Fingers.

But now we are touching upon the late *Revolution*, you shall see what this Audacious *Author* makes of it: Where, speaking in a kind of *Irony*, page 37. he says, *What was some Hundreds of Thousands that were starv'd to Death, and fell by the Sword in Ireland, in about two years time; besides Families and Persons that were ruin'd without number? What were all those who perished in Scotland; and in our ten Years War abroad by Sea and Land? What was this? Besides eighty Millions in Taxes. More than all our Kings since William the Conqueror had, put together.*

And what is all this put together but a furious and malicious Suggestion? And what is the *Author* of it, but a *Viper* that carries Poyson under his Tongue? Some *Hundreds of Thousands*! Oh, Abominable! When the *Armies* on both sides did not make near the number of one *Hundred Thousand*: And what were they that died so? Why, *Rebels* for the most part, and some *French*: And who were those that were ruin'd without number? Why, *Obstinate Rebels*, *Papists*, &c. What were all that perished in *Scotland*? Why, *Rebels*: And what became of the *Money* (tho' not near eighty Millions?) Why, it was expended in a just and necessary *War*, by which we were preserv'd from *Tyranny* and *Oppression*, from the *Romish Yoke* and *French Discipline*. But enough of this, since all *Good Men* are convinc'd how much their *Country* was a Gainer by that *Popular Revolution*, so happy in all its Circumstances.

And certainly no *Kingdom* or *Nation* in the World has

has had such Alterations in the Race of Kings, as this of England; sometimes subject to Conquest, sometimes to Hereditary Successors: The Britains first, next the Romans, then the Saxons; after them the Danes, then the Normans, and lastly the Scotch. And indeed, Monarchy would easily appear the most acceptable of all Governments, if Kings would submit to those reasonable Terms and Limitations of Sovereign Power, that have been laid down, to allow the great Council, to hold the Balance; as certainly that of England must do, it being a mixt Commonwealth, part Monarchical, part Aristocratical, and part Democratical. And 'tis equally dangerous and unadvisable for the King to infringe the Liberties of the People; for the Laws of England are above the King, as not being his Acts alone, but in joint Proceeding with the Parliament, who together have the Legislative Power: and where it is in the Peoples Right to make a King, and he proves a Tyrant, he has only a Will, without the Power, to enslave them; and if a War should ensue between them, who has the juster Cause, he that violates their Laws, their Religion and Rights, or they that endeavour to preserve themselves from unjust Oppression, and Lawless, and Arbitrary Power? Where there is General Danger, and the Peoples Lives, Safety, and Religion lye at Stake, it is warrantable by the Laws of Nature and of Nations to remove the particular Cause of it; because no one Man ought to raise himself, in prejudice of another. And since Liberty and Religion are the two inestimable Jewels of Humane Life, 'tis no wonder that the Genius of England (especially) has always shewn it self forward to maintain their Priveleges. And this, if Precedent have any force, is a sufficient Argument of the Power in the People.

While Kings follow the limited Rule of Government, and are tender of their Subjects Safeties, and Priveleges,
 'tis

'tis very improbable they should be offended to take up *Arms* against him ; for all they can hope for by standing on their Defence, is but a redress of their *Grievances* : and where they have no *Grievances* to redress, for what should they take up *Arms* ? In an Insurrection their End is no other, than to endeavour to right themselves (however they may be mistaken in the Lawfulness of it) and not to exalt themselves ; for none assumes more pretence than another, all are concerned alike, every Man's *Liberty* is as dear to him as another, and there is no *Superiority* allowed, but as the necessity of the Cause requires. For this they come from the Plow ; and when they have obtained a Confirmation of their Rights, either from the Prince that oppress'd them, or by setting up one more Righteous in his stead, they return to the Plow again. So that, I say, there is no such thing as the *Spirit* of *Rebellion*, but what is founded on the insulting and *Arbitrary* Principles of the King : The People seek only redress, and not to make him less than he was, or themselves greater ; their only Ends and Ambition is to be a happy People under a good King ; and where he is such, he need not fear the *Love* and *Obedience* of his *Subjects*. We are not naturally set against things that are grateful to us, but against those that offend us. Now, where the King does not imbibe *Arbitrary* Notions, and swell beyond the Lawful Bounds of Government : Nay, in *England*, when the King does not trespass on his *Coronation-Oath*, he cannot offend his People. He is their Darling, and welcom'd to the Throne by joyful *Acclamations* ; and the Occasion must come from him if they alienate their Hearts from him. It is a Duty incumbent, and as lawful, to oppose Kings, even by Violence, to prevent the shedding of innocent Blood, or to resist his unlawful *Instruments*, when they come to execute his Tyrannical Commands. A King's Will cannot justify any Arbitrary

Invasion upon the People. 'Tis true, we are exhorted to be subject to the *Higher Powers*; that is, as long as they retain any Sence and Regard for the *Peoples Liberty*; as long as they obey God, the *Institutor* of their comprehensive *Authority*. Otherwise 'tis making God the Author of an *Institution* that tolerates Wickedness; when by acting contrary to the Power invested in him, *he makes himself obnoxious to God, and to the Divine Law for so doing*. But where *Kings* are Constituted by the *People*, it cannot be thought they would designedly ordain such as should subvert their *Laws*, who are as free by Nature as themselves.

'Tis the Privilege of *Parliaments* to have the sole management of all Matters, and to devise Laws suitable to the present necessity of their *Sitting*: But then, says our Author, *Whose Fiat stamps the Authority of a Law upon it? And if he likes it not, he may reject it*. True, but he must give Reasons for it, and such Reasons as shall satisfy that *Great Assembly* why he will not give the *Royal Assent*; for in Justice he ought not to deny it to any *Bills* for the *Publick Good*: Neither can he assume any Prerogative to himself by such Absolute or Negative *Voice*; for these are Arbitrary *Notions*. In Inferiour Courts he has no Vote at all; where the *King* has not Power to reverse the least Judgment, though given against himself. And for his *Negative Voice* in *Parliament*, he being oblig'd for the Good of the *Nation* in general to concur with his *Parliament*: And where their Laws are good, and really devis'd as such, 'tis rather an *Obligation* than any *Transcendant Act of Grace* to give his *Royal Assent*. And if the *King* may be allowed to deny his *Assent* to as many *Bills* as he pleases, that are apparently for the *Peoples Good*, it would not be long before we should see the whole Justice of the *Nation* corrupted. Nay, 'tis the express Words in the *Coronation-Oath*, that he *confirm the Laws*
his

his People chuse. And what can that signifie more, than that he shall approve, and be led by the Wisdom of his *Parliament*; else how should the Balance be preserved, so essential to the Peace and Preservation of the Kingdom.

'Tis evident, that the *Parliament* have a part of the *Legislative Power*, not only in Proposing or Advising, but in Enacting; which the Titles of such their Acts fully confirm. *Be it Enacted by the Authority of Parliament, or by the King's Majesty, and the Lords and Commons, &c.* And 'tis the Prudence of the People to have regard to the Privileges of their Members: They are at the Head of Affairs, and can easily see what is most conducive to their Safety, and being intrusted with the Power, will employ it in the Preservation of their *Lives and Liberties*. But when the King shall come to lord it imperiously over his *Parliament*, and to have 'em merely in subjection to his Will, the People have but little Security for their *Liberty*. Therefore, I say, 'tis the part of the People to stand by the *Parliament*; whose Right it is to make War, and even on the Prince himself, if he prove *Tyrannical or Oppressive*. And he that will not stick to assert his Right, but sit tamely by, and see their Laws invaded, is unworthy of being a Member of a *Commonwealth*; for being the *Barriers and Defence* of the *Peoples Liberties*, when they are conquer'd, our Security is conquer'd, and the whole *Constitution* in Danger.

Besides, can any thing be a greater Proof of their having a part of the *Legislative Power*, when they are absolutely a Court of Justice, without the Personal Presence of the *King*: Which appears by their reversing erroneous Judgments in Inferiour Courts, and resuming Grants in several Cases made by the King, and many other things. And undoubtedly it was the Right of *Parliament* to dispose of the Great Offices of the *Realm*;

as has been many times prov'd. But whether they have resign'd that Power, or are unwilling to contradict what their *Prince* shall do, I will not dispute. Enough has been said of the *Privilege* and *Authority* of *Parliament*: Now as to the Right in the *People*.

We cannot disallow but that *God* instituted *Kingly Government*: But was he the Promoter or Proposer of it to the *People*? or, was it their own Head-strong Humour that requir'd *Kings*? Certainly the latter: For had the Almighty approv'd of it at first, we had had something recorded in *Holy Writ*, of his having establish'd *Thrones*, when he first created Mankind; but he gave no Authority one over another, than that every *Master* or *Elder* should rule in his own Family. Then indeed were those Golden Days of Peace and Plenty, when Men liv'd in a State of Happiness, without Envy or Dissention. God ty'd them to no Form of Government, but left it to their choice, under the Direction of his Providence. Now if they were so humourfome in time to desire Kings, though they were warn'd by the Prophet from God, what would come of it; *Sam. 18. 11. He will take your Sons and your Daughters, your Fields and your Vineyards, even the best of them, and give them to his Servants.* Nay, he says, *He gave them a King in anger.* Which shews, God was not pleas'd or consenting to have his *People* enslav'd by *Arbitrary Kings*: Yet since it was their own Head-strong Humour, and they would not be rul'd for their own Good; though he ought to let them suffer severely for it, he also limited the Sovereign Power, according to the Law of Nature: And so, though the *People* of *England* have chose *Monarchical Government*, yet do they not trust to the Will of their *Kings*, but have still preserv'd so much Power to themselves, as to be able to check them when they are endeavouring to trample on their Liberties. And on this Foot he ought to oblige his
Sub-

Subjects by a mild and indulgent Reign, and endeavour to get their Loves ; and not exasperate them by Tyrannical Government ; in which case they are to consider him according to the Laws of Nature, and drive him out by the same Force he would use against them. And since our *Author* is so excellent at *Quotation* I will make use of a Vindication of the Right and Power of the People, out of *Lex Vera, Ch.* 11. pag. 3. That the Right of Dominion in the People is demonstrable from these Proofs in Scripture : *And David said unto the Congregation of Israel, if it seem good unto you, and that it be of the Lord our God, let us send abroad to our Brethren every where, that are left in all the Land of Israel, and with them also to the Priests and Levites which are in their Cities and Suburbs, that they may gather themselves unto us : And let us bring again the Ark of our God to us ; for we enquir'd not at it in the Days of Saul.* Here you see, though *David* was a Man after God's own Heart, yet he maketh the People judge of what was of God : And upon this Proposition of the Reduction of the Ark, the People giving Suffrage, are unanimous in the Result. *And all the Congregation said, they would do so, for the thing was right in the Eyes of the People :* Not that they could do no otherwise by a King ; for they did not the like to *Rehoboam*.

In which you are to observe, he always quotes his own Pamphlets.

But to come to Matters more particular to this Nation, that shall prove the Right of Dominion to be in the People. Pray, who is ask'd, but the *Commons*, whether they will make such a War? Whether they will pay such a Debt? Whether they will advance such a Sum? All which is entirely at their Discretion. Therefore actually and positively the People has the Right of Dominion. The King cannot subsist without the Power of the People; for the Crown cannot, *de Jure*, require any Service from the Subject, but those that were *debita, omnes qui de Re-ge tenet per servicium Militare* (and none else) *Regi faci-*
ant.

Bracton lib. 2. cap. 16.

ant auxilium ad primogenitam filium maritandam; saith the King; and so said the Law long before.

So far is the Right of the Dominion in the *People*, says this Author. That Offices either for the Preservation of the *Peace*, or Execution of Justice, because they concerned all the Subjects in the County chosen in every Shire by the *King's Writ*, a Statute made in the 28 E. 1. proves it, saying; The *People* of every County shall have Election of their Sheriff, who is an Officer for the Preservation of the Peace. But, perhaps, some may Object against this Statute by reason it's alter'd by 9 E. 2. which says, that *Sheriffs* shall be assign'd by the *Chancellours, Treasurers, Barons* and *Justices*. Why, here it is to be understood, that the former Statute is only alter'd, partly as to the Election of a Sheriff in the *Exchequer*, if the Judges pursue the same Statute, and the Free-holders of the County do Elect before them, and so that Authority is good Law. But what Law can be shew'd for the *Peoples* losing Priviledges (which, if they have to this day) of choosing many Offices, the *King's Writ* issuing forth first to that purpose? verily none that I know, no Act judicial or Record, whereby the Right of the Kingdom is expressly given away; or if they did appear, or if it should be granted, that Usage recorded in the *King's Case* were sufficient, yet in these particulars it will not give a Right to the King; and if he hath time out of mind dispos'd of 'em, yet this will not avail, if by any matter of Record the Right of the Subject appear, as it doth by Statute Law, before remember'd, and by legal Authority, then usage is invalid, as the Learned in the *Laws* know.

And so great Power have the *People* by their Right in Dominion, That Pardons by Parliament, wherein their Commons gave their Council and Assent, were thought more safe and requisite than the *King's*. For Example,

Henry

Henry de Hethford, who was a principal Citizen of London, and a villainous Instrument of the two Spencers in Edward the second's time, was, *de assensu Prælatorum Comitum & totius Communitatis Regni in Parlamento*, pardon'd all Homicides, Robberies, Burglaries, Felonies, and other Crimes: And so great is the Power of the People, which is absolute in point of Right in Dominion, that for several Misdemeanors they depos'd the aforesaid King Edward the Second. Trussel, who was instructed what to do, Un-king'd him in these Words: *I, William Trussel, in the Name of all MEN of the Land of England, and of all the Parliament, Procurator, do resign to thee Edward, the Homage that was made thee sometime, and from this time forward, I defy thee, and deprive thee of all Power Royal, and I shall never be tendent to thee after this time, Anno Dom. 1327.*

Now what will our violent *Jure Divino* Author say to this? Why, he says, *The King cannot grant any such Power over himself.* No, but the People are wise enough to take it, and maintain it as their Right; and having Strength and Liberty may oblige the King to such Covenants as are necessary to their future security. But, says he, *The King cannot be limited by the People. He cannot be limited but by himself; that is, by the Law which is made by him, and cannot be made without him.* Why may not a bad King break the Laws that were made by a good King? and where's the People's Security then? when he is breaking thro' the fence of the Establish'd Laws, to invade their Liberties, are they to sit still and be crush'd by weight of Arbitrary Power, without asserting their Native Rights? and to what end are their *Representatives* chosen, but to be at the head of Affairs, and balance this Power; so as it may not break out to the prejudice of the People whom they represent? I think the Rights and Privileges of Parliaments have been sufficiently vindicated in this point.

Ay,

Ay, but, says he, (and that seems now to be the greatest Objection) *The Constitutions or Priveleges of Parliaments are not Original Rights or Fundamentals, but variable and changeable; nor do they flow from the People at all, but are, and ever were, the Concessions and Grants of Kings, and nothing else.*

But unless he would have undertaken to relate how the Rights and Priveleges of Parliaments were at first adjusted, he had as good have said nothing. That when they were shaping out the Balance of Power between the three Estates, what part of Dominion was thought reasonable to remain in the Hands of the People, to be exercis'd by their *Representatives*, and what part to the other; and this Right did flow from the People and was given to their *Representatives*, of which they were to have a free Election. Now, perhaps, they had not made a right Estimate at first, but upon practice to make the Balance yet equaller (which it must be, or the Government cannot stand) the People either oblig'd the King, or he out of his own free Will did grant them more. Which part of the Legislative Power they strenuously hold to this day, as *Representatives of the People*.

In an Act of the 2d of Henry V. it is declar'd, That the Commons of England were ever the part of a Parliament, which plainly confirms, that the Rights of *Parliament* do flow from the People. The Law of Nature requires Justice, to reward Virtue and punish Vice; therefore it's highly necessary that there should be such a *course of Government* in the World; but not a Supreme Power to enslave the People, which implies no more than the Executive part; and the People being the *Instruments*, may limit any sort of *Government*: And where the King is breaking down the Fences of their Liberties, they may repair the Damages, by reducing him to Terms of Reason, and setting him within his own Bounds. I hope

hope he will not argue that Kings cannot break the Laws, after he has own'd they may *make themselves obnoxious to God*, &c. and if they are odious to God, they are so to all good Men, and are liable to be call'd to account, and by whom but by those they have injur'd; who, doubtless, God stirs up against them; and not to sit still and humble themselves when the Knife is at their Throats; or, as he says, *Hope to win them by a Dutiful Submission*. No Tyrant was ever yet reclaimed by the Meekness and Loyalty of his Subjects: But By Force, and taking up Arms in their Defence, many Nations have got rid of a merciless Oppressor. Then, saith our Author, *A Tyrant must die, or may become better*. But a Tyrant may destroy his Kingdom first, and stain the Land with Persecution, and so weaken the People, that when they have born it long in hopes of Amendment, and find that *All's* at stake, then, may be, they would strike, when 'tis too late, when they are so feeble grown, they want strength to retrieve their Liberties; and so they must stoop to his Arbitrary Power, till they sink in the Torrent of his Tyrannical Government. In this Case the King makes himself the Peoples Adversary, and may be used by them as an Enemy.

But these People (such as our Author of *Cassandra*) that have the Object of *Jure Divino* so in their Eyes, being dazled with the Splendour of Majesty, cannot see this, they are so in love with Slavery and Fetters, that they are perfectly tied and bound in the Chains of their Sins: And 'tis their greater Misfortune ever to be most subservient to a Tyrant; to him, like those Dogs that are taught Subjection by the Smart of Blows, and ever remembering the severe Discipline, are ready to lick their Master's Shooe. They have lost so much the generous use of Reason, that they are not to be rank'd with the nobler part of Mankind. These are those degenerate

part of a *People*, that when their *Nation* is invaded and liable to Conquest, are the first that throw themselves at the *Conqueror's Feet*, submitting to the servile Yoak, and paying Homage to his Rising Glories : When those who look upon their Freedom as the only Blessing of Humane Life, stand in a just Vindication of their Native Liberties ; which to defend they are ready to hazard their Lives, against any that seek to invade them. Certainly this base and degenerate Spirit is rooted in all these *Jure Divino*-Men ; from whence Spring those Passive Notions, so pernicious to the Good of a Commonwealth. Nay, let a *King* be never so wicked and irregular in his Life, he is still Sacred, and ador'd as such by them ; tho', as our *Author* says, they may *make themselves odious to God* : And yet these must be called *Principles of Vertue* in these Men ; because through the Ignorance and Stupidity of their *Loyalty*, they become Slaves to that mistaken Notion of *Jure Divino*, their darling *Refuge* for Consolation under all Misfortunes ; when some of those they have paid that Homage to, have forfeited the Character that should appertain to it. Such as would have subverted our *Religion*, back'd with a Foreign Power : Those who made their Court a very *Stew*, where *Lust*, *Intemperance* and all other *Vices* reigned, to the great Scandal of the *Church* and the *Nation* : Not to mention *Massacres* and other *Arbitrary Laws* imposed upon the *People*.

Certainly if *Kings* did not forfeit this *Divine Right*, by vile and profligate Actions, God would never withdraw his enlightning Grace, nor stretch out his Hand against them. Nay, as I've said before, the *People* would never rise up against them, unless inspir'd to't by God and their own *Injuries*. And when *Kings* shake off their Obedience to *Heaven*, Men may shake off the Yoak of Obedience to *them* : So that to *depose* a Tyrannical *Arbitrary Prince*, is equitable with the Laws of *Heaven*, as

well

well as *Nature*. The *Sacred Writ* often puts us in mind of our Allegiance to *God*, and leaves us not without Admonitions what Duty is incumbent as to *Kings*, distinguishing by several Examples between the *Good* and the *Bad*; but the Duty to our *selves* is less spoken of, because 'tis written so deep in the Laws of *Nature*; for every Man's Inclination is to be happy, which no Man can expect under the Dominion of a *Tyrant*. *Happy is he that condemneth not himself in what he alloweth*, Rom. 14. 12. The great Fundamental Law of *Nature*, is *Self-preservation*: 'Tis the *Magna Charta* of all Constitutions, and the very End and Design of Government it self: 'Tis a Principle so deeply radicated in *Nature*, that 'tis engraven upon every Man's Heart. And certainly every Subject has as great a Right to their Religion, Liberty and Property, as the *Monarch* has to his Royal Prerogative. The Benefit whereof our *Ancestors* enjoy'd long before the *Conquest*, and spent much of their *Blood* to have confirm'd by the *Great Charter* of the *Liberties* of the *People*, and other excellent *Laws*, which have continu'd through all former *Changes*, and being duly executed, are the most Just, Free, and Equal of any other *Laws* in the *World*, where the *Peace* and *Liberty* of the *Subject* is so fully preserv'd: And if those *Laws* should be taken away, all Justice would cease, and *Misery* and *Confusion* would follow.

But the Author of *Cassandra* has a plain Contradiction of this in N. 1. P. 40. where he says, *No Subjects in the World may be so easie and happy as we, if that Rebellious Principle of Coercing our Kings, and making our selves Co-ordinate with them, were but rooted out from among us. If we would be guided either by Reason or Scripture; the Law of the Land, or the Experience of all Ages, chiefly of our own. Till when, Peace and Settlement will be as impossible to us, as to reconcile Contradictions.*

To which I answer again, That the *Subjects* of *England* have no reason to trust themselves to a *New Scheme* of Power, nor suffer their *Prince* to retrench their *Privileges*: For as the *Inferiour Laws* limit the *Peoples Rights*, restraining them from invading the *Royal Prerogative*, and from offering *Violence* to one another; so the chief *Design* of *Magna Charta* is to reduce the *Regal* to a *Legal Power*. The *Prescriptions* and *Statutes* of this *Nation* are the *impartial Arbitrators* of *Government* and *Obedience*. This was ever the *Bounds* between the *King* and *People*, by *Laws* as antient as the *Heptarchy*, given and granted by pious *King Alfred*. And even *William the Conquerour*, though he had made an entire *Conquest* of the *Land*, was yet nevertheless oblig'd to confirm those *Laws*; as appears by some *Grants* made to the *Kentish Men*: Which said *Laws*, relating to the *Priviledges* of the *People*, were strengthened and confirm'd by *Henry the Third*, by *Magna Charta*; not that it granted them any new *Priviledges*; for it mentions *sua Jura*, and *suas Libertates*, which argues they had a former *Title* to these *Immunities* contained in this *Great Charter*: And that the *Design* of *Magna Charta*, was only to stand as an *irrevocable Bar* between the *King* and the *People*; to inform each part how far their *Rights* extended; to which, in case of difference they might make a determinate *Appeal*. And here I grant it *Rebellion* without contradiction, if the *People* have invaded their *Monarch's Right*. But where they have only asserted their own, and the *King* has first injur'd them, I cannot be of that *Opinion*: No more than I am of our violent *Athors*, who says, pag. 19. N. 1. *Laws which Kings make, are no Contracts: They are wholly Concessions on one side: On the side of the King. Our Magna Charta which begins our Statute-Book, is wholly and solely from the King, and express'd to be granted of his meer Free-will.*

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'Twould have appear'd better on his side, if he had taken some pains to prove this ; but here, as in most of his Arguments, you have his own Notion for a positive and *Decisive Law*. But in opposition to this, the Government of *England* is a Paction and Contract between the *King* and the *People* : The former to Govern according to those *Rules* the *Laws* prescribed ; and the latter quietly to submit to be Govern'd by the *Laws* establish'd. And this Agreement with the *Subjects* does not at all lessen the *Authority* of the *Supreme Magistrate*, but rather advanceth it. For 'tis the Honour of a *King*, not to be capable of doing wrong ; and 'tis the Safety and Happiness of the *People* to be under such a *Prince* as only commands *Lawful Things*, which capacitates the *Subject* to obey with Safety.

So that between the *Coronation Oath* and the *Oath of Allegiance*, the *Prince* and the *People* are conscientiously directed to their proper and peculiar Rights. Therefore the Interest of the *Royal Authority* and the *Subjects*, ought always to be in Conjunction : And that part which derogates from the Regular and Divine Maxims of Government, becomes obnoxious to God, &c.

And 'tis most palpably ridiculous, and injurious to the *Gospel*, to wrest places of Scripture, peculiarly adapted to the suffering State of *Christianity* : I mean, while it was under *Pagan Princes*, and without National Laws to support it ; to blacken and condemn the Actions of *Christians* ; whose *Religion* and *Liberties* are entail'd to Posterity by establish'd Laws, and whose only Action (for which they are blam'd) is for ~~the~~ rescuing their *Religion* from *Superstition* and *Idolatry*, and their antient *Liberties* from the *Vassalage* and *Slavery* of *Arbitrary Power*. Not that I purpose wholly to destroy *Obedience*, but to reduce it to its due proportion assign'd it both by *God* and *Man*, and cause it calmly to run down within the Banks of its
own

own Channel ; by which we shall be fitly capacitated to follow our *Saviour's* Doctrine, *To render to Cesar the things that are Cesars, and unto God the things that are Gods.*

The *Evangelical* Precepts confine us to no particular Platform of *Civil Government* : In general it provides for the preservation of *Honesty, Justice and Peace*, and exhorts us patiently to bear all Calamities or Oppressures, we have no lawful way to avoid. But it does not oblige us to be Vassals and Slaves to the meer Will of a Tyrannical Governour. For what is Arbitrary Power but the Will of Kings ? which, without being restrained by some wholesome and necessary Laws, as a *Barrier and Defence* for his Subjects *Lives, Religion and Liberties*, might break out into what publick Disorders and Oppressions he thought fit, even to the ruin of his *Subjects*. I think it is too evident from pregnant Examples of our *Neighbours*, the dismal Effects of Arbitrary Laws ; unless he would give us *France or Moscovy* for the exact Paterns of two happy Nations. No ! we are a *People* blest beyond Comparison to either of them, by a healthful Constitution of Priveledges, by which we can call our *Lives and Estates* our own : And nothing can add more to our Happiness than to have the Enemies of our Felicity remov'd from among us. Such as endeavour to blacken the *Revolution*, by fixing an indelible Blot upon the Character of Him, who at the hazard of his Person and Estate, came to rescue us from the sinking State we were in. What but the prospect of inevitable Ruin, could have drawn that Sence of Danger upon the whole *Kingdom*, at whose intreaties he was prevail'd with to undertake our Deliverance ? And upon whom does this Scandal devolve, but to his *Successor* ?

Or,

Or, to go further (pardoning the treasonable Reflexion on her Majesty) what is the design of all these Invectives? Are they to shew the peaceable Spirit of the *Faction*? Or are they levell'd against her Majesties *Title*, and the *Protestant Succession*? Let us suppose they had gain'd their point in getting the Act pass'd against *Occasional Conformity* and that the *Dissenters* were sent to the place from whence they came; according to the Scheme this Author has projected, for modelling the Peace and Welfare of the Nation,) wou'd they have stopt there? No! those were so many Steps to their bringing in the Prince of *St. Germain*s; for while the Whigs (as he is pleased to call 'em) are entrusted with their share in our Preservation, all their Measures are render'd ineffectual; these are those who were our *Redeemers* and *Preservers* from *Popery* and Arbitrary Power: The *Head*, the *Heart* and the *Hand*, of the late War, that expos'd both their *Persons* and *Estates* in a just Defence of our *Liberties* and *Religion*; and upon whose Conduct and Fidelity, our Safety (next under God and the *Queen*) now depends.

And yet the furious *Church Party* are for secluding these Men their Native Rights, and robbing them of that Power by which they have sav'd the Nation: and Reason good on their side, that when a fit opportunity shall present to put their dangerous Designs in Execution, they (the *Dissenters*) may not be able to stand against them. But while God is Graciously pleas'd to support this Nation, he will preserve the *Pillars* on't, and still continue them in those Capacities whereby they may be qualified to serve their Country in a just Vindication of its Liberties from *Popery* and Slavery. Notwithstanding the Fury and Prejudice of this Author challenges the *Whigs*, or *Dissenters*, or any of them to shew any one Principle of Loyalty that they have: Or any Notion of Government that is consistent with Monarchy, or any settled Frame of Government: Or any Principle
of

of *Treason, of perpetual Rebellion, and Revolution, which they have not.*

Now, methinks, this takes from our Author's Wisdom, by adding to his Fury ; for I cannot think it so much Folly, as downright Impudence and Railing, to assert so open and known a Falſity in ſo malicious a Strain ! there is all the venom of his Party lurking under theſe Words ! And I muſt think with the *Obſervator* that he is a Madman, ſince I cannot be ſo charitable to him to think it proceeds from his want of ſenſe : But let it bear what conſtruction it will, it wou'd have been time enough to have expreſs'd himſelf thus vehemently, when they had elbow'd the Diſſenters out of all *places of Truſt* : which, as I have ſaid before, is the principle Deſign they have in view, next to that of bringing in *Popery* ; the one is only the prelude of the other ; but that a Man ſhould challenge any Body in matters of *Loyalty*, when he is a profeſs'd Jacobite, and every day hatching *Miſchief* and *Libelling* the Government under this happy Eſta bliſhment ; one that makes no Bones of *Writing, Talking* and *Acting* againſt the *Hannover Succeſſion*, when every Branch of it is *Treason*, 'tis very ſtrange and confident ! I confeſs I ſhou'd not aſſume his Faults, and laſh out into theſe Extreameſ, but that I find he is to be treated no other way : And I muſt conclude, that the *Obſervator's Billingsgate Language*, is very juſtly beſtow'd on him, 'tis the *Lex Talionis* of Railing, ſince neither the one, nor the other has any Reason in it ; of which all Argument ſhould conſiſt.

But to uſe ſome *Moderation*. I can tell the Author of *Cassandra*, (nay I can prove it too) that there are *Diſſenters* who have excellent Notions of *Monarchy*, and profeſs a ſtrict Obedience to Sovereign Power, and that upon Emergency ſhewn in a Loyal and Dutiful manner, in defence of the Supreme Magiſtrate againſt all Stratagems and Hoſtilities whatſoever. Nay, that there are *Diſſenters*

ters, and held a very good Opinion of *King James*, and would not easily be persuaded how far their *Religion* and *Liberties* were then in danger; nor but with Reluctancy were got to close with that opportunity of preserving themselves and the *Nation*, from those Calamities that threatned both: So near they came to his own Notions of *Monarchy* or *Jure Divino*. There were few or none of the *Presbyterian Dissenters*, that had any Hand in cutting off *King Charles's* Head; and not a great many that voluntarily engag'd in (what he calls) the *Rebellion* against him, but were generally those that restor'd his *Son*. And though he knows the *Presbyterians* were chiefly those that brought in the *King*; yet he blackens all alike, and says, *Whigs, Dissenters, or any of them*.

Now this is proof enough, that some *Dissenters* have a great regard to *Sovereign Power*, and would never start from it, but upon the *King's* causing a Variation of fix'd Laws, and putting the whole *Body Politick* out of order; for 'tis apparent Men may be as Superstitiously Loyal as Religious, and the one prove as fatal and destructive to the Peace and Happiness of the *Nation*, as the other to the Zeal and Fervour of *True Religion*; when the utmost Limits of Allegiance is but to observe all the Lawful Commands of *Sovereign Princes*. And now he brings me to't, to shew there is an Error in the Faith of this vindictive *Author*, in this particular Assertion. There are too (and I know) *Dissenters*, that will not cleave even to this moderate *Notion of the Power in the People*; and that there are very good Church-Men, that maintain both this and more: So that he cannot villifie the *Dissenters*, without, in a great measure, bringing in the *Church*.

That there are immoderate *Dissenters*, as well as immoderate *Church-men*, is not to be deny'd: Nor will I determine in ordinary Matters, whose Principles are most

pernicious to the *Publick Weal* ; but certainly the first is least so at this time, because they are in the Interest of their Country against all Foreign Power ; when the latter, while they are arraigning the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* for want of *Loyalty*, are themselves apparently carrying on Designs against the Government, and ready, any time, to close with a *French Invasion* ; whose Hearts are so entirely *French*, that they are not satisfied with the Auspicious Reign of our Sovereign Lady *Queen ANN*, but are picking Quarrels with her Title, and arrogantly *expostulating* with her, for her *Benignity*, with which she is pleas'd to influence and protect her Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the *Dissenters* ; who are ready upon all occasions to express their hearty Zeal in defence of her Sacred Person, and her indisputable Title to the *Crown*. From hence let any Man collect the Establish'd Principles of the one and the other, and see which are the better Subjects, and speak impartially of the *Dissenters* Loyalty.

Nor are these two Extreams last mention'd more prejudicial to the Health of Government, than the Concordance of the Moderate Part of both are beneficial. They are the Centre and Balance of regular *Government*, and the mutual Defenders of *Sovereign Power* and the *Liberties* of the *People*. Therefore there is more to be said for *Occasional Conformity*, when 'tis to support the *Publick Safety*. And here I take the Words of the *Occasional Letter*, which the Author of *Cassandra* quarrels with, to be valid ; *That receiving the Sacrament, is not engaging to be true to the Church a Man takes it in.* No ; they are satisfied he differs from them in point of *Ceremony* when they admit him, and believe he will return to his own Notions afterwards : So that there is no more expected than that he should comply for Form sake : For the same Law that obliges them to this *Conformity*, leaves them at Liberty in other Matters of Religion ; yet 'twas thought necessary

ry for the Publick Safety, that they should be admitted to a *Communion* with the *Church*. And though I will not pretend to give an adequate Judgment in this Point, yet I take it, that the *Sacrament* in this Case, is given purely to qualifie a person for the Oath that follows; the effect of this Oath requiring a Certificate, *sic subscribitur*: Such Certificate being only legally to be obtained from the *Church*, they are therefore oblig'd to *Conform Occasionally*, because the Church claims Pre-eminence. As all *Wills* must be registred in *Doctors-Commons*, being the principal Magazine of the *Civil-Law*. Therefore *Occasional Conformity* is justifiable, and the Balance of Power no longer secure than it is continued.

But, says our Author, pag. 67. N. 1. *is it not God who requires us to keep that Bond of Unity and Love, of which the Holy Sacrament is a Symbol? And is it not being unfaithful to God, not to be true to this?* If they are true to the Ends for which they take it, they cannot be accounted unfaithful to God; because by that means they preserve those Religious Ties of Duty and Conscience into which it engages them: But, says he again, *it may be made use of in Dissimulation and Hypocrisie, to undermine and destroy that Church, &c.* That it cannot do, because it does not incorporate them in that *Body*, but for the time being, and requires no further Service from them. And again, it seems to afford no such frightful Idea; for it is not a thing they require of the *Church*, but what the *Church* imposes upon them; and if he would carry the business further; in Matters of Faith 'tis a false Position, if the *Principles* of their own Worship dispences with the Duty, it is in point of Conscience a sufficient Warrant for so doing; and as the *Occasional Letter* says, *The receiving the Sacrament is not engaging to be true to the Church a Man receives it in, so much as to be faithful to his God.*

Suppose a Man kept ten Servants, two of which shou'd dissent from the *Communion* of the Family, might they not occasionally conform to the *Will* of their Masters, by joining in the ordinary Worship of his House, without abusing their Consciences, or being unfaithful to their God; and this, when their particular Safety and Welfare requires such a Condescension? or would it not be hard, if at the Instigation of the Rest, they should be divested of their Employments, or made incapable of serving their Masters, tho' they were the best and most faithful Domesticks he had?

If the *Dissenters* have fared any better, they may thank the *moderate Church*; for it was not owing them from the Prejudice and Malice of the most furious and exalted part. Nor do the *Dissenters* (in Notions of *Government* and *Worship*) strike nearer the Principles of *moderate Churchmen*, than the *High-Flyers* do to *moderate Papists*. In short, they inhabit the same Principles; and there is but a Paper Wall between them.

But hold: I must return about twenty Pages back, where this *Author* tickles our Ears with a melodious piece of Nonsense and ridiculous Stuff, pag. 47. talking of Musick, Rejoycings and Feastings on the 30th of *January*, and there sweats it out in elaborate Thoughts, to fix a scandalous Ceremony upon the *Whigs*, call'd the *Calves-Head Feast*; and begins a Quarrel with the *Author* of the *Occasional Letter*, for endeavouring modestly to persuade Men out of such foolish Opinions, taken up upon the meer Credit of groundless and frivolous Reports. Indeed I cannot say I have not heard of such a thing; but I thought none but Fools had really believ'd it: I always look'd upon it as a Tale invented by the Enemies of that Party; that when they had a mind to cast *Odiums* on't, it might serve to illustrate their malicious and barren Discourse: As the *Antients* invented the

the whole *Ribaldry* of *Fiction* for the Grace of *Poetry*. And truly it is a pretty smart *Invective*, when 'tis us'd to advantage, as by our *Author*; who speaks as presumptuously of it, as tho' 'twere as well known to every body in *London* as their way home; when, I protest, twenty Years Acquaintance with the *Town*, has left me in ignorance: I have heard many talk of it, but never was so fortunate to meet with one Man in my Life, that had seen it, or been of that profligate *Club*. And yet, says this *Author*, *Phoo, not believe it! Can any one live in London and not know this! where their History and Anthems are printed, and have been continued from that Fatal Day to this! Anthems* might be printed from the meer *Notion* of the Thing, and be writ, as the *History* was, by their *Enemies*, to fix the Scandal the deeper: Or they might be writ by those whom it was falsely charged upon, to humour the *Frenzy*, and wound their *Adversaries*. But this is no *Proof*. Certainly if such a vile Ceremony had been continued such a Series of Years, it might have been discover'd in all this time, and the flagitious Members of it punish'd. But I fancy this *Author* of *Cassandra*, and some others (like the *Traveller*) have told this *Lye* so long, till they really believe it themselves: Therefore I must say, with the *Author* of the *Occasional Letter*, That, if such a thing be, the Party at whose Door the *Impiety* is laid, *abhor and disown it*.

Now, says he, (speaking to the *Author* of the *Occasional Letter*) if you please to examine over the Party for whom you have vouch'd, and see how many of them will renounce their Calves-Head Principles; and all the rest are of the *Club*, whether they come to their Feasts or not.

This is the prettiest way of proving a thing to be, that ever I was acquainted with; it is something like the *Quakers* Answer to the *Parson*, *The Shop Door stands open, and thou may'st come if thou woo't.* They

They have devis'd a Notion of a *Calves-Head Feast*; and if the *Dissenters* will not keep it, 'tis all one, they shall be accus'd of it, and branded with it. And if a few profligate Wretches shou'd have condescended to make themselves so infamous (which yet wants proof) *all the rest are of the Club, whether they come or not*; whether they know where to come, or have so much as ever heard of such a thing: Yet still 'tis all one, as the *Quaker* said, *they may come if they will*. I'll assure you 'tis a very comprehensive *Body*, and includes abundance of *People*: 'Tis well they don't all meet at that time. If the *Rumford-men* shou'd get it by the end, they'd extravagantly raise the price of *Calves*: and if Mr. *Lesley* has a mind to afflict the *Party*, he may do't worse than by railing at them in his *Books*, to give in an *Information* of it about ten Days before, to the *Hundred Courts* in *Essex*, and the adjacent Counties, and never fear but they'll set a *Fine* upon every *Calves-Head*; and by this means, in a little time, he'll reduce them to perform this very wicked *Ceremony* with the beggarly *Victuals* of boyl'd *Sheeps-Heads*; which must needs prove a great *Mortification*. But I cannot omit his Description of this *Chimerical Club*; (tho' 'tis very probable 'tis none of the exactest) for I think, if any such thing be, these *Wretches* work like *Moles*, under ground, and don't suffer any *Spies* upon their *Actions*. However, says our Author, *I am told* (but he does not tell us by who, I confess) *That last 30th of January, at one of the principal Calves-Head Feasts here in London* (so that you are to observe there is more than One or Two of these Clubs) *they used a sort of Symbolical Ceremony, of sticking their Knives all at once, into the biggest of the Calves-Heads* ('tis well some *People* were not there, who have monstrous *Calves-Heads* of their own) *thereby engaging themselves in a Band of Unity, for the Restauration of Puffs; that is, their Commonwealth, and the Extirpation of Monarchy,*

marchy, especially in the Line of the M A R T Y R, whom they thus represented. And in one of their Poems since published this Year 1704. Intituled, Faction Display'd. The Second Part; which deserves its room among their Anthems, they speak it out as plainly; where justifying the Deposition of the late King James II. they say:

- I own the Right an injur'd Nation did,
- When she from Rome her threaten'd Altars freed,
- Applaud the just and more approv'd Design,
- Of quite exploding the detested Line.

I am very unwilling to quarrel with this Gentleman's Understanding; though I have not the least Charity for his malicious Humour. For what but the greatest Prejudice imaginable could put such a Construction, or pervert the sense and meaning of a thing, as he has done of this? At this rate 'tis easie to traduce Words of the most innocent signification; and by mangling a Book with Peice-meal Quotations, unduly and irregularly apply'd, put quite another Face upon the Matter; as here:

When she from Rome her threaten'd Altars freed.

To which the last Line responds:

Of quite exploding the detested Line.

That is, the Romish Line, the pretended Prince of Wales, and all Popish Successors: And not the Line of the Stuarts, as this furious Author wou'd suggest. I cannot see that the words have any tendency to such a meaning: and where is the Queen dishonour'd in this then? or what occasion is there for the Author of *Cassandra*, to cry out in this Exclamative manner? *Is not this fair warning (in Print, and cry'd about the Streets) to his Daughter now sitting on the Throne?* Why, therefore, it seems not to be hinted out of disrespect to her Majesty, who by sitting on his Throne, defends us from that *Detested Line*, i. e. the

the *Romish Line*. But to give ye the true state of difference between these two *Authors*; the one is honest, and detests the Enemies of his Country (as the Pretended *Prince of Wales* and his *Adherents*) and the other has lock'd 'em in the Cabinet of his Heart; and cannot, without being sensibly touch'd, hear 'em nam'd disrespectfully; as fond, indulgent Mothers, that can see no Deformity in their Mithapen *Off-spring*; and are ready at any time to fall foul on their Neighbours, for not being as blind as themselves.

Besides, before he had censur'd the *Author of Faction*, he shou'd have read him out, wherein the very next page, speaking as to Parties, he says,

*Then cease your Emulation and unite,
And under ANNA shine, shine immensely bright.
ANNA! whose Reign had I but liv'd to have seen,
I'd ne're Recorded for a Traytor been.*

Supposed to be spoken by Sir John Fenwick's Ghost, as the Lines before quoted are.

And here I think he has Emphatically express'd a sence of Duty and Respect for Her Majesty: Which yet I need not have made use of to prove his good wishes to her *Person* and *Government*; for having some small acquaintance with the *Author of Faction*, I know him to be a sincere admirer of both, and is so far from being one of that Fictitious *Club*, that I have heard him say, he cou'd not hear the Murder of King *Charles I.* named with patience! and yet he is one that is call'd a *Dissenter* too: He is one that would not have the King run away with all, nor the People be insolent or insult Majesty, without a lawful occasion; and not then to make a Vice of Necessity: He is, what all honest Men are, an Enemy to *Tyranny* and *Oppression*; to those slavish and pernicious *Principles*, of the extant *Perkinite Party*, and wou'd have

all

all those Miscreants duly serv'd, that favour the Enemies of their Country, and form Designs against the best of *Queens* and of *Governments*; for I would fain ask the Author of *Cassandra* one Question, and leave it to the World; whether his pretending to vindicate the *Queen*, be out of Love to Her, or Hatred to the *Whigs*? and whether that which drops from his *Pen*, for the sake of *Argument*, comes from his *Heart* for the sake of *Conscience*? 'Tis manifest he cannot love her Majesty and favour the cause of her Enemies, to use his own Words, *Nu. 1. p. 50. for they cannot serve two such Masters: God and Mammon* are inconsistent, therefore he must love her Majesty, and hate his imaginary King *Jam. 3d.* or cleave to him, and despise her Majesty: This is plain, there is no *Trimming*; the Text is positive, *No Man can serve two Masters*; but he does serve the Pretended *James 3d.* therefore he cannot serve, nor love Her Majesty: and how far her *Enemies* are to be encourag'd, must be referr'd to those who have power to examine into it.

That he does serve the Pretended *Prince of Wales* is demonstrative; his seditious *Pamphlets* are the very *Trumpets* that proclaim his *Cause*; he is one of the *Leaders* of his *Partizans*, and wages eternal War with all his Enemies; and that he may do him the greater service, he is for disarming the *Dissenters* in the first place, as knowing them to be the *Standing Army* for the Preservation of *English Liberties*: and that while they are armed with Power, they will defend the Nation from *Papery* and *Slavery*: they will be a constant Guard against the dangerous *Invasions* of that *Party*. Cou'd this stumbling-block be once remov'd, the next thing would be to temper with the *Act of Settlement*; and then (as our Author has done in the foregoing Pages) hint the probability of bringing in their *Little-Master*; and extirpating the *Whigs*, who he treats with by the name of

Devils. And to express his Sentiments out more lively, he takes the Liberty (page 74. *Post. to Legion*) to tell 'em, that the *House of Commons* is against them, and how better (says he) *can the Sense of the Nation be known?* How easily he has brought the Sense of the *Nation* to bear with his own, is worth notice; and in the very next Page to that before quoted he gives you a notable Comparison what great Reason he has, to hope his *Writing* will be serviceable to the *Cause* he is engag'd in. The Secretary of Oliver Cromwell, (says he,) *being ask'd soon after the Restoration 1660. how it came to pass, that their Party being possess'd of the Power and the People, came so unaccountably to lose both, as it were, in a Moment?* Answer'd, *that it was chiefly owing to the Cavalier Pamphlets, which had generally the Argument and Advantage over those writ against them;* so this Author by giving himself a compleat *Victory* over all *Whig Pamphlets*, leaves ye to guess the Consequence, and makes this application: that if they can keep their Ground against him no better, *King Perkin* is as like to be restor'd as *King Charles* was, and they (*the Whigs*) to be sent to the place from whence they came (*But I hope not.*) This is a plain case, and wears no Mask to be pull'd off; for he does not stick to own himself of that *Party*, and that he is labouring in their *Cause*, and gives ye the foregoing *Quotation*, for his hopes of Success, that he fancies himself much too hard for all the *Whig Pamphlets*. But 'tis the Happiness of that *Party* to look upon him as a Man half distracted, with his *Furious* and Self-evident *Notions*; and instead of making himself dreadful to his *Adversaries*, he makes himself despis'd.

If at any time there is a fault to be hit off, and he's at a loss, he flies to his own *Pamphlets*, where he has always something ready for his purpose; among his *Quotations* he has ten to one out of his own Works: and this is a very pretty, and indeed a very new way, of always proving

proving himself in the right: For the same Reason, and with as little Modesty, he trumps up *Declarations, Letters,* and other old stuff that makes (as he thinks) for his purpose; or whether they do or no, they swell out so many *Pages*, and seem to hint at great things, when they're as frivolous and insignificant to the matter, as his own *Quotations*, and as unfair and unallowable.

Shou'd the *Dissenters* follow the same steps, and reap up all the old *Sores* of the *Nation*, how many things might be produc'd to shew the Designs of *K. James's Party* (when Duke of *York*?) how many *Letters, &c.* are there extant that might be inserted here to blacken that *Party*? And how many *Memoirs* might be made use of relating to the horrid *Popish-Plot*? which was plainly found to be a Design against the Life and Person of the King, Protestant Religion, and Establish'd Government: in which we might endeavour to discover how many *Laudites, (High-Flyers,* with *English Faces* and *Romish Hearts*) were dipt. And tho' it seems almost incredible that Men should join with the Enemies of their *Religion*, yet 'tis evident these kind of People have, and are ready still to do it. I might mention the *Fire of London*; and that those taken on that account were generally favour'd and dismiss'd, without being brought to Tryal: Also the Endeavours us'd to separate the *Protestant* Interest, and to encourage the *Popish*; and all this conniv'd at and put forward by *special* Members of the *Church*. The same pernicious *Pamphlets* went abroad in those Days in favour of a *Popish Successor*, as do now, and written by his yet faithful Friends, the *Rank Part* of the *Church of England*. And though the Confidence was not altogether so great (those honest *English Gentlemen* in *Parliament*, not being able to carry it in a *Protestant Succession*, as they have now) yet the Degrees were the same in every Circumstance, and in all probability would have the same effect as what we had

a Prospect of before. For though this *Idol* of theirs should come in upon the Foundation of their own Notions, by a general *Indemnity*, and granting all things for the Security of our *Religion*: Yet (as has been taken notice of) no *Prince* of the *Romish Religion* ever thought himself bound to keep Faith with *Hereticks*, and I will mind 'em of one thing more, somewhat touching the Case of those *Perkinite Church-men*, that *Queen Mary* put the *Crown of Martyrdom* on the Heads of those that put the *Crown of Dignity* on Hers.

But this is not to the purpose I was about, to shew how these kind of People have always (or for the most part) kept pace with the *Papists*: And to prove this, I might here quote whole Pages of the management and carrying on that horrid design of Assassinating King *William*: Nay, what even some *Papists* had the Grace to blush at. And yet how many of our worthy *High-Church-men* were concern'd in this? How many true-blew *Protestants* were among those that were executed, and among the rest that deserved it? And how many Hundreds more that were not concerned in it, wou'd have hugg'd it after it had been done, and have clos'd with the following stroke of bringing in a *Popish King*, by a *Foreign Popish Power*? Very fine Principles to be encouraged in a *Protestant Government*, and to be daily vindicated in *Print*. I might, I say, insert some Passages out of the Journals of this *Black Matter*, and the former *Popish Plot*, and bind it as fast to the Temples of these *High-Flyers*, as this Author has done the *Forty-one Revolution*, or the *Rye-House Plot*, to the *Presbyterian Dissenters*; but I shall not follow his Steps. For such a Magnitude of *Quotation* is both frivolous and impertinent; it perplexes the Matter, and seems to have no other design, than meerly to swell the *Treatise* to a Bulk. I shall only examine whether in general they are Friends to their Country or Enemies
(for

(for one they must be) and I think I have fairly proved, that they are not the former, by proving them the latter.

They pretend they are something better recover'd out of the terrible Agonies they labour'd under in the late *Reign*; but this is all pretence; they are the same they were in their *Principles*; and 'tis no better than an affront to Her Majesty to say so, as if they look'd upon Her Majesty as a Favourer of their *Faction*, and that now they had some hopes: And unless they will renounce their *Allegiance* and *Service* to their imaginary King *James 3d.* they can no way clear themselves of this charge. For they cannot acknowledge both their Titles at once, (of which Her Majesty is indisputable,) being confirm'd both by *Blood*, the *Laws* of the Land, and the Affections of the *People* (wou'd I cou'd say in general) and she must either be acknowledg'd before him, or not at all; which they cannot find in their Hearts to do, as well as they pretend to love her: And tho' some of our late *Non-jurors* have taken hold of this handle, as an excuse to draw themselves out of those necessities in which they were plung'd, yet their Hearts wander as far as the Court of *St. Germain's* still; there centres all their thoughts; and what is this better than *Occasional Conformity*? They can dispence with Matters of Conscience (as several of them have done) but will not allow a *Dissenter* to hold his *Trust* by the same *Tenure*; tho' he has all along enjoy'd and faithfully discharg'd it.

Therefore, I say, 'tis downright Insolence to Her Majesty, to screen themselves under the shadow of her Wing, to play the Sycophants with her, when at the same time they are corresponding with, (and wishing and praying for the Success of) her Enemies, and hugging the ruinous Prospect

Prospect of a *Popish Successor*, which is irreconcilable to a *Protestant Constitution*.

I wonder how these Men dare fly in the Face of the *Government*, and pretend to set *Rules* for it to go by, when they are known and avow'd Enemies to its Prosperity. 'Tis true, the *Schemes* they lay down are consonant to the *Frame* they wish it-in, but ruinous and hazardous to the *Protestant Interest*: and if, as he says, *the considerations which threw the Occasional-Conformity Bill out of the House of Lords, were the unseasonableness of it at this time of War, and the necessity of Unity among our selves*; much less is this a time to listen to their *Projects* of Government, who can have no other *Design* themselves but to betray it: And they can have no better way to strengthen the Interest of their own *Faction*, than by weakning that of the *Dissenters*. In order to which, they muster a little Army of *Calumniation*s to charge the *Whigs* with, as *Rebellion, Sedition, Schism, Extirpation of Monarchy, King-killing, Calves-head Feasts*, and the like; which are us'd like *Stratagems of War*, the better to conceal their real *Designs*; that while they are amusing the World with these vain and idle *Notions* against the *Dissenters*, they may not be appriz'd of the danger threatned from a much more more *Destructive* and pernicious *Party*.

And therefore, he says, *If the Dissenters think this time of War the fittest for their struggling to get into Power, Is it not as much incumbent upon the Church and Government to secure themselves?*

Here he mistakes the *Position*: 'Tis not the *Dissenters* that are struggling to get into *Power*; but the *High-Flyers* are struggling to get them out: for since they have been
possi-

positively charg'd with enjoying the *Favour* and *Indulgence* of the late Reign, I know of no memorable change since that, has thrown them out; nor of any Reason (that has not been over-rul'd) why such vain attempts have been made; tho' he threatens us with the same thing again next *Sessions of Parliament*, and adds, that *if it miscarry again, whether 'tis likely to Heal or Heighten* Pag. 43. N. 2.
the Animosities between the Two Houses? He has nothing to do with that, and ought not to puzzle us with such an impertinent *Query*; the only Solution of which is, who will be in the wrong? Now 'tis rather to be supposed, that those that carried the matter were in the right, than those who were over-rul'd (especially if they should trump it up again) because if we will sum up the *Genius* of the *Nation*, 'tis express'd in a Free-Parliament (as well as *Laws* are Enacted) by the Majority of Voices; and we ought to receive it so without appealing any further; for what better Reason can we have to rest upon, than the same our *Laws* are founded on? So that he has flung this *Query* in the Face of his own Party. For tho' it might have pass'd the *Commons*, yet we are to be guided by that Source of Power which we find plac'd in the *Lords*.

But, says he, in the close of the foregoing Quotation, and spoke with an Air of Arrogance, that seems to threaten some Body, and who but the *Lords*? *Let it be remember'd, that the rejecting this Bill gave the first occasion.*

Now I will not quarrel with him for want of a Word, but as it stands here 'tis Nonsense: However, we will suppose he means, that the *Lords* rejecting the *Occasional Bill*, gave the first occasion of difference between them and the *House of Commons*. Which though it be none
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of the greatest Truths in the World, is however a great piece of Confidence in him to charge upon the *Lords* as a fault, and to threaten them with the ill Consequences of it, (if any should happen.) *But I hope not*, for doing what in Conscience they cou'd not do otherwise, because they found it consistent with the Safety and Preservation of the *Nation*: And how far the *Church* seemed in danger by continuing the *Dissenters* in Power, there were enow of its *Reverend Members* in that *August Assembly*, to determine, without the Nefarious Interdiction of this *Prophetic Railer*. And who shou'd the *Church and Government defend themselves against*, but their Enemies? Now the *prime* part of the *Clergy* have been Judges of that already: Nor is it out of Hatred to the *Church* that the *Dissenters* don't *wholly conform*, but out of love to themselves, as every one is fond of the *Religion* they were bred in. *Custom* has more *Elegance* than all the *Force of Reason*; and no Man can truly serve *God* by *Compulsion*.

But if the Author of *Cassandra* would speak his Mind, it is not on matters of *Church Discipline*, that he grounds his Quarrel to the *Dissenters*: No, they might go to what *Church* they wou'd, or to none, so they wou'd relinquish their *Principles of Liberty and Property*, and Power in the *People*. He does not grudge 'em the *Communion* of the *Church*, so much as the *Power* they enjoy by it, of being able to oppose his destructive *Schemes* of Government. Nor can it be in danger from the *Dissenters*, while their *Safety and Preservation* wholly relies upon their Fidelity. 'Tis an unreasonable Caution, to advise the Government to secure themselves against their Friends, for Enemies they cannot be; because their Interest is so rivited with the *Establish'd Laws*, that they cannot start from it if they wou'd. Now we will see which *Party* the Government has most
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Reason to arm against, and who are likely to prove the greatest Enemies.

Do the *Dissenters* quarrel with the Act of Settlement, as it is settled by Parliament? No. But do the *High-Flyers*? Yes.

Do the *Dissenters* question Her Majesties indisputed Title to the Crown? No. But do the *Perkinites*? Yes.

Do the *Dissenters* repine at the Success of Her Majesties Arms? No. But do the *Perkinites*? Yes.

Have any of the *Dissenters* been found tardy? No. But have any of the *High-Flyers*? Yes.

Ay, but says this *Jesuitical* Author, *they are big with a Commonwealth*, and will never be quiet till they are brought to Bed of it: The old *Forty-One Rebellion* runs still in their Heads; and if their *Leaven is not purg'd out*, and they sent to the place from whence they came, the Nation cannot stand.

But he does not tell ye that they (the *Perkinites*) are big with a *Prince of Wales*, and want a *French Mid-wife*, i. e. a *French Power*, to bring him into the World; that the last 95 *Invasion* and *Assassination* runs still in their Heads; and that they will never be quiet while there is a *Protestant Queen*, and a *Protestant Succession*.

To sum up all: That they will never leave wrangling with the *Dissenters*, while They stand between them and home, to cross their *Designs*. And I am sorry after all this, that I'm oblig'd to commend the Modesty of the *Party*, that they don't in few Words make their Case

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known in plain Terms, and sincerely lay their Grievances before the *Government*.

“ That truly having had long a Design of bringing
 “ in their *Little-Master*, which they have impatiently
 “ expected in him and his Royal Father this fourteen Years
 “ and upwards ; and that after having fail'd in several
 “ fruitless Attempts in the matter, they desire it may be
 “ taken into consideration, that whereas the main Reason
 “ has been the assiduous and watchful Power of the
 “ *Dissenters* in detecting their Designs ; since they find it
 “ impracticable while *They* are continued in *Trust* : It is the
 “ Humble *Petition* of Mr. *Lesley*, the peaceable and well-
 “ meaning Author of *Cassandra*, in the name of the
 “ whole Party of *Perkinites*, and *High-Flyers*, whose *Ser-*
 “ *vant* and *Secretary* he is ; that for the aforesaid *Rea-*
 “ *sons*, they (the *Dissenters*) may be remov'd out of
 “ the way as soon as possible ; and to usher in the *Peti-*
 “ *tion* with the bettet assurance, we are to let ye know,
 “ that there are among us infinite Numbers of *Nonjurors*,
 “ who cannot in Conscience take the *Oaths* to Her *Ma-*
 “ *jesty*, nor be true to Her *Government*. For these, and
 “ other the aforesaid Considerations, we hope for *Re-*
 “ *dress* ; and your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

This is, in short, the Sum of the two Libels called *Cassandra*, and I believe the Sense of the whole Party, in which he has a fling at *The Shortest Way with Dissenters*. But what is there spoke in a kind of *Irony*, he has passionately express'd with abundance of Sincerity : And therefore it only remains to enquire,

Whether if Mr. *Lesley* had been taken up for a *Jesuit* when the *Warrant* was out against him, he
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could have cleared himself of the *Principles*? and if he had,

Whether for other *Reasons* he did not deserve to stand in Mr. *De Foe's* place?

Whether it be consistent with the *Uprightness* and *Purity* of a *Clegyrman* to go by two Names? and if so,

Whether Mr. *White* be not an *honest* Man than Mr. *Lesley*?

But I cannot conclude without shewing the World what he may deserve for the following Paragraph. *Pa. 87. No. 2.*
pray God, (says he) our present Queen may not stand in History one Instance more of Presbyterian Gratitude, after Her Royal Father, and Grand-Father. Let her rather Triumph over them, as Queen Elizabeth did, and King Charles, after the Oxford Parliament.

Now I appeal to the World, what there is in the *Shortest Way*, &c. that bears a worse and more malignant *Construction* than this, provided we were to pardon his sawcy advice to Her Majesty.

To which he adds, That *when She takes the same Method with them, She will have the like Success.* Method, is here distinguish'd, and therefore we may suppose he means *Persecution*, especially since he hints before, their being *sent to the place from whence they came*; and in the Conclusion, he cries out, in a *Prophetick Rapture*,

• *Oh! let me not in this too prove a Cassandra.*

Why,

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Why, I don't believe he has provid a *Cassandra* in any thing: He has too much of the *Jesuit* in him, to have any of the *Prophet*; and tho' he values himself upon the NAME, I have seen a better *Prediction* of *Mather Ship-ton's*: Which Title wou'd have suited better with his *Labels*; for I believe no honest Man puts any trust in his wonderful *Prophecie*.

And now, I suppose, I have given him an opportunity to write two *Cassandra's* more; for he is very forward in taking up *Arms* for the *Party* and grudges no Scandal that is spent in their Service.

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